[illegible]

[illegible] long alone on the forest. The only company is the two [illegible] called the Ulfhednaghund from the forest they dwelled in. [illegible] and the remaining half is made from part of the great [illegible] coats-of-arms worn by the Ulfhednaghund and adopted since. [illegible] coat-of-arms [illegible] on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Schoettingford B-S (1936-1937) 1954 FLA Dresden FLA

a clear, windless day. About 10 o'clock a curious whistling noise began to come from a certain part of the forest, and continued, on the same note, and without a break, for several hours. It was evidently no human or machine-made noise, and the Dandu professed complete ignorance of it. A Dandu who had lived there before the Dandi War told me afterwards that it was an evil spirit whistling in the forest, "for we used to hear them whistling in such other like that in the forest where I was a child".

Between people and the things on which they depend for their existence both spiritual and material there is a connection which is best expressed in terms of a ritual relationship. Things have a ritual value for people, and people themselves have a ritual status which is a relationship with their surroundings that can be altered for better or for worse according to the way in which they respect the ritual value of the things around them. Rites and magic form the procedure which protects these ritual values and status, while political organization is, in a sense, no more than an effort to maintain the ritual status of the lands in spite of the tendency of its members to injure their own ritual status and in consequence that of the lands also.

Certain things that a person does, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, cause deterioration of ritual status; but the original status may be recovered by the performance of certain ritual actions which may involve some personal effort or sacrifice. Examples of acts which cause loss of ritual status, and the means taken to restore it, are: (1) A girl who bears a child before marriage must have the undigested grass (cud) from the stomach of a goat rubbed over her face, neck, and breasts, and must then wash it off. (2) After a woman has given birth, she is in a condition of much reduced ritual status, and her husband must rub goat's fat and cud over her face, breasts, and body. (3) A man who has killed a Dandu must have goat's fat rubbed all over him. (4) One who has killed an enemy must have stripes of white earth painted on his face. In all these cases the people have done something which causes loss of ritual status, making them ritually unclean (pawo or awo) and in a source of danger to others till they have been purified. The potential danger is removed by means of something which has a ritual value. Moreover, an essential element in the cleansing process is sacrifice, that is, the use of the material must often involve giving up something which is valued, or it must require some effort or even risk to get hold of. The cud or fat must be from a domestic animal. If the person concerned has one, he must use it; if he has none, then he must get one, and without delay, which for a Dandu usually means that he has to steal it, and thus risk getting killed while doing so. Therefore there is an act of faith in these magico-religious performances, and people believe so firmly in the efficacy of what they do that they are prepared to risk danger in order to get the necessary materials. The use of white earth may entail no more than a [illegible] but that will involve [illegible]

[illegible] the substitution of ritual status, and in consequence have a special ritual value, namely: the flesh of goats, which is eaten when taboo are lifted, and is made of cud, viz. the undigested grass from the stomach of a ruminant by doing

or goat where the Dundee are concerned); sweet oil; tongue, lit. the fat of cow's udder, or butter, i.e. solidified whole milk; honey-wine; and white earth.

Illness is generally believed to be due to the anger of an ancestral spirit, to the spite of an evil spirit, or to witchcraft. Sometimes, on the other hand, it is thought to have a natural cause. When a person is taken ill the relatives, unless they can be sure that the illness has a natural cause, go to a Yuudi diviner of the kind called *sakpanel*. Diviners used to charge the Dubulu a fee of 1/ — if the cause was witchcraft, and 1/ — if it was due to a spirit. But if a man went down to the lowery country where there is malaria, and after his return was taken with ague and fever, they knew it was a natural illness, *bwisia jan*, and did not consult a diviner.

If the cause was found by the diviner to be witchcraft, the witch was indicated according to the methods employed by Yuudi diviners, and the sick man's relatives went to the witch's hut, pulled him or her outside, spat in the face and said: "Come and eat human flesh for many seasons". The sick person must then be rubbed on the face, chest and belly with the fat of a she-goat or with sweet oil (*sogbwa*). If the witch refused, the practice was, especially if it was a woman, to tie her to a tree by a thong the other end of which was drawn tightly round the forehead, and then flog her soundly till she promised to do what was necessary. When this had been done, the witch was driven out of the town.

A witch might be of either sex, but they were generally women; in fact it is said that there have been no male witches among the Dundee for many years: they say, too, that they have now no female witches either. Whether or not this is true, I certainly could hear of no case of witchcraft where a Dundee was believed to be responsible. This does not mean, however, that the Dundee are entirely free from this evil thing, for sometimes they are bewitched by Yuudi. When this has been shown, by divination, to have been done, the Dundee go to the Yuudi who live near the witch and ask for their help in dealing with him or her. This the Yuudi generally agree to, for they like witches no more than the Dundee, and the witch is then dealt with according to Yuudi procedure. One of the allegations made by the Dundee against the Yuudi in 1938 was that they did not want Dundee to live in the Yuudi Local Unit (Reserve), and that they were using Yuudi witches to get rid of them.

The reason that Dundee go to a Yuudi diviner (*sakpanel*) for the detection of the cause of illness and witchcraft is that they have no diviners of their own, for the people among them known as *sakpanli* are not, like the Yuudi *sakpanli*, diviners, but simply people who have learnt to cure illness with herbal *sog* (*sogbwa*), medicines from trees and plants, herbalists whom the Yuudi would call *kpiberyuudi*. These *sakpanli* (*sing. sakpanel*), besides being able to make herbal medicines, prepare charms to protect people from sickness and the evil eye. Children wear necklaces of [illegible] which are believed by Yuudi to protect them against the evil eye, and all men wear small pieces of the wooden tree, each about 1 cm. long, tied to their belts as a charm against rheumatism.

Schlesinger B-3 (1936-1939) 1954 JFLA Dorobo JFLA

Sometimes people are made ill by evil spirits, which are supernatural beings and take shadows to people without any particular reason. They are said to come to a man when he is asleep and give him a sharp pull, which makes him with a start. He looks round, and seeing nobody, knows that an evil spirit has attacked him. In a short time he becomes ill, and he sees him, the head of his family, his father, father's brother or other old man, must sprinkle honey-wine over his head, saying as he does so: Ee, ai, "Go, go", ordering the spirit to leave him; and then he will have a chance of recovery.

When a man is about to die, he is allowed to be undisturbed in his hut, and during the evening of the day on which he dies his body is taken out by his sons, or if he has none, by other men of his family or clan, and laid on its right side (men and women alike) with the legs straight and hands crossed over the breast, on the edge of the forest about three hundred yards away from the hut. If the hyenas do not come and eat it, nothing is done, the body is just left to rot, and the bones are left lying there. (This, of course, very seldom happens.) The relatives lament on the day the person dies. Those who carry out the body are undone for three days and remain in their huts, while their people make honey-wine. The old men of the clan are then called together and some of them go up to the carcass, one of them bearing a gourd full of honey-wine, from which he takes a little in his mouth and spits it over each of the men in turn; the other old men then all dip their hands with the fat of a sheep or goat, saying: Omondo anyore, ekinye ak tabuk, "Go forth now, and mix with the children", meaning that you are now free to meet even children, since you are clean. The old men then drink the honey-wine.

Before a body is laid out for the hyaenas, all the ornaments are removed from a man's body by his sons, and from a woman's by her daughters, who then divide them among themselves. Before the ornaments are worn, however, they are laid aside for three months, after which some of the old men of the clan come and grease them with sheep's fat; and in preparation for the greasing the children make honey-wine for the old men who, after greasing the ornaments, spit some of it over the children and then drink what is left. Very old men and women are buried in narrow holes about 4 feet deep, in which they are laid wearing their clothes. A year after an old man has been buried, his children place a branch of euphorbial (*Euphorbia* sp.) on the grave and let it grow. Babies are buried in the living-living if there is one, otherwise they are laid out for the hyaenas like other people. The hut in which a person has died is not disinherited, but remains occupied till, on account of normal deterioration it is abandoned.

The dead person's soul enters the body of a hyaena when the body is eaten, and thereby [illegible] goes to ground, whether it goes under the earth to spirit-land, from which it returns periodically to visit the living.

Closely linked with religion, as clearly indeed that sometimes it is not easy to see where the one ends and the other begins, is magic. By this term I mean the belief that by doing or not doing certain things, men can control

the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough consistency to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

The main occupation of the Dundee was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to constant pressure the Dundee have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dundee, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite unnecessarily, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt for whild with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait - sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, but the act should not take him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But often setting traps did abstinence is not necessary.

We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the shooting of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy of magic. When a man puts a sore heavy-haired into a tree and calls out to the bear to come it, the call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter the bear).

Omens include the following:

If the birds called Kaskiki and Kiskiskee (both species of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful. But if they are on the left,

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance. "For it also is travelling".

A vessel is a sign of cooking function, and exactly for the person who uses it, but for everybody.

This short statement may not seem to imply a very great use of magical practices. Nevertheless it is clear from the general mood of knowledge of the Dworkin that the important parts of their life are helped and completed by magic. The recovery of ritual status after child-birth and after the birth of twins is achieved by magical means; the spirit-name given to a child is intended to link it, in a way that can quite properly be called magical, with the spirit-world, so that it starts life on good terms with these powerful and capricious beings; the whole idea of circumcision (once it is borrowed) is that of the transition by means of a magico-religious performance from the state of boyhood to that of manhood; these and other observances and ordinances are all magic, and are done because people believe that by doing them they will be enabled to go on existing.

9. Analysis of Taboo

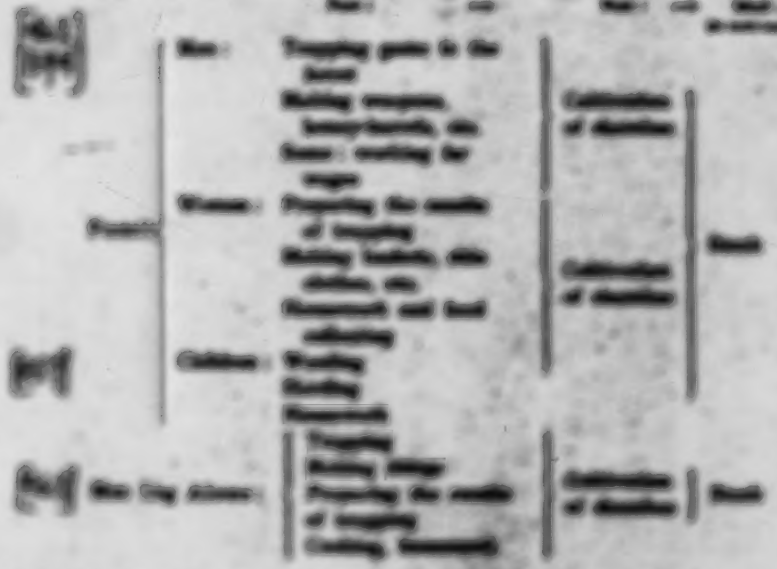
Ritual Values. Things which have ritual value fall into three main groups: (1) things which provide sustenance, or are closely connected with such things; (2) things of the spirit world; (3) things used to restore ritual status.

(1) Honey is sacred, like milk in the Dweeb, and in addition to the rules as eating honey and fruit on the same day, trees, flowering plants, and grass have ritual value because they are all closely connected with the production of honey: trees, because bees live in them; flowers, because bees get honey from them; and grass, because the flowers and trees may be damaged if it is harvest. The last section explains how within the preserved tribes, the Dweeb do not have grass over honey.

(2) The spirits are offered honey and honey-wine, which thereby acquire an additional value in that they are a channel to both the dead and the living.

(3) Things used for the recovery of damaged ritual status include grain and honey, and extracts of their products, i.e. mead and fat, as well as 'tastes' or sweet up magics from trees. (4) Many trees from sources which formerly were hardly possessed at all by most Dweeb, and even to-day only as a small scale. Honey-wine is such a good deal, as well as white earth.

Each person at birth has what might be called a standard ritual status, which is changed to a different standard on circumstances, when a boy becomes a man and a girl a woman, with the right to marry and produce children. The ritual status of normal adults in normal social contexts conforms: (1) a man acting sex to bed is not in the same ritual state as when he is acting calmly at home, and he must not have sexual intercourse at such a time; (2) just before he starts on, should he have an opportunity, while away; (3) [illegible] (4) touching a corpse causes deterioration of ritual status; (5) the breaking of a taboo affects ritual status; (6) sickness affects deterioration of ritual status through the birth of a child before marriage, the birth of twins, and also, in a lesser extent, normal birth. In all cases, the status must be restored by a ritual performance.



through the glass of words. After writing honey a Dandes wipes his hands in the earth to show them; whereas a Dandi uses honey.

One of the accusations often made against the Dandes by lower dwellers is that by burning grass and living trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dandes do not have trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dandes who said, with reference to some people in the settlement,

Right behind [illegible] they have the children of Kolobe family the grass of forest are. We do not like [illegible] for they do not have the Dandes the honey which is common the things which we use, right on will [illegible] where Dandes the honey-hunter of the bees, also it is because the flowers which they are the bees.

(The children of the Kolobe family are in the habit of burning the grass inside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dandes do not have the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-bees; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dandes do not love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. For did the forest itself refuse to exist or to yield more again of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dandes.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dandes do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-bundle.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Udwandi, useful bee, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bee which live in hollow trees and honey-bundle.

Ewandi, solitary bee, Vespa, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kwandi, earth bee, Halictus, slightly larger bee which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kijakwandi, weaver bee, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, stones grains, and their own saliva. There are very small bee, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in huts below the escarpment.

The Dandi word *kakwandiandi* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dandes, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bee that provide the Dandes with their honey are the *udwandi*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, known as *udwandi* or "the mother of the bees", is

[illegible] stands of hollowed-out logs. A suitable log is cut of such a length as to allow for a length of about 2.5 m in the finished article. Those specially favoured for making heavy barrels are the wood and ironwood, on account of the ease with which they can be worked; others used are the walnut, alligator apple, hickory, and mesquite. The entire work of shaping and working is done with the axe. The log is then split into two equal halves longitudinally, which are then hollowed out, leaving sides about an inch thick. In the bottom of one half an oblong hole is cut, through which the two are sewn until the crown can be found to take heavy. Four holes are found in the sides of each half with a red-hot boring-needle (Fig. 1), and when the two halves are put together, thong is threaded through the holes to hold them in place.

The skin barrel, not an unknown on the Rag and because of the difficulty of making the end-pieces, is made of strips or skins of strong hide, the wood and wooden cross being themselves for this purpose. The ends are formed of two solid circles of [illegible] which have to be cut laboriously from a log and then sewed to shape. The hide skins are then put in position round the end-pieces and bound together with thong, a wide piece of cloth, or sometimes [illegible] hide, is then put round the barrel to [illegible] the whole [illegible] and to give the barrel more shape in the middle. The whole is also sometimes given more shape by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Fig. 1. Plan of a Yoruba dwelling at Ilaiye Ibadan. Yoruba Province.

[illegible]

[P. 192, 4]

UA Microfilm—916 G-6 (1895-ca.1918) 1701 FLIS Wood
Dorsey FLS
Ans

[illegible]

An overnight rest on "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

Around ten o'clock at the latest the conference reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

The statement of the Wandorobbo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: ina or ga.
My wife: ami tatuni.
My brother: biring ami.
My sister: baiyo ami.
Half brother: ngiki baba.
Half sister: ngiki baba.
Brother of the father: biring a baba.
Sister of the father: baiyo baba.
Brother of the mother: biring ga.
Sister of the mother: baiyo ga.
Son of the father's brother: ngiki biring baba.
Son of the father's sister: ngiki baiyo baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: ngiki biring baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: ngiki baiyo baba.
Son of the mother's brother: ngiki ngiyaweb.
Son of the mother's sister: ngiki baiyo ga.

(330 cont.)

782 From time to time the people celebrate a supplication feast for
796 life, which they call kowong or kowong. For a kowong a boon, a
842 feast to ask God for children, the married women dance themselves in a circle around a small fire into which, just as for every other supplication feast, they strew the residue of the honey beer, consisting chiefly of wax particles, so that its fragrance will rise up to God. While an aged, respected man goes around the circle and sprinkles them power with honey beer, they sing: Ilkî ngo kowo! After the two have gone on for a quarter of an hour, they want to dance, continuing to sing the same words. The dance is followed by a meal at which meat and honey beer are consumed. At a kowong o ngo they ask God for meat. Beside a small fire they place upright a straight branch with several forks at the top, the twigs of which are cut off short. The empty stick is supposed to show God that they do not have any meat. All the companions station themselves around the fire and sing: Ilkî ngoni magat (magat = gravel). The next morning the hunters set out, and as soon as they bring home meat, a small piece is placed on each twig of the forks of the branch. Again all surround the newly kindled fire and now sing: Ilkî nyog keiyog ee, which is to say: God, give us still more food. The men celebrate another supplication feast before a larger hunting expedition. In the middle of the camp a small fire is made, around which the men stand in a circle. Each one has the bow in the left hand, a twig of the olbi tree (Acacia mellifera) in the right one. Then, going around to the left, they walk around the fire four times, during which they sing: Ilkî ngoni magat. They maintain that they have never yet prayed in this way in vain, but that after a kowong o ngo they always returned from hunting with rich booty. The Wandorobbo do not have a term corresponding to the ol ngor l ol gwesti.[1] Rather, without special ceremonies, they cut a strip out of the hide of an animal just slain and wear it as an amulet around the right middle finger. As soon as they meet something along the way that makes them afraid, be it a predatory animal or an enemy, they blow on the hide strip, which is the equivalent of a prayer for protection. Other amulets are seen extremely rarely. The native saw only one, which they called ruruo and which consisted of a small piece of meat. It was worn on the neck ring and was supposed to protect one from predatory animals. If individual persons spend the night

1. [A supplication feast conducted by the Masai to preserve the health of human beings and livestock--Analyst]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] outside the camp to the steppe, or even have a dead piece of game [illegible] outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a hunting horn of the [illegible] bull. They assert that if one has been this, no predatory animal can approach. On the two and twist diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a watch key, which, in the belief of the people, God himself sought down long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

The nature of the secrecy through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Ideas: first, supernatural spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled—they are called [illegible]; to which one recognizes the blood work of [illegible] Persons with the evil eye, who are called [illegible], are likewise feared and expelled. If one knows an unholy vows for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of those sorcerers.

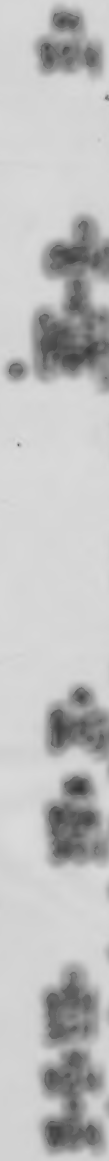
[illegible]

[illegible] law, — General morality, — Property, — Sharing the hunting booty, — Things found, — Burns, — Debts, — Liability, — Gift, — Blood Brotherly, — Murder and manslaughter, — Negligent homicide, — Bodily injury, — Innocent offenses, — Theft, — Enmity about an unknown culprit, — Legal procedure, — Swearing, — Torture, — Ordeals, — Star sex, — Women before justice, — Generally Gl.

The legal views and legal practices of the Inū in general resemble those of the Ideas; we find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

There is nothing more to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe. Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Inuitschen among themselves, but handed over to the Ideas of the nearest Good for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal ways is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Ideas, see Fuld Ideas, 10 Abschnitt, Kategorie 110, pp. 2[illegible]—Ideas [illegible]]



[illegible]